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AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE *ANTIGONE*
OF EURIPIDES

THE story of Antigone was unquestionably known and told before the time of the play of Sophocles, but it was by this poet cast into its final form; for despite the succeeding *Antigones* (among which in ancient times we may mention those of Euripides and Accius) the Sophoclean Antigone has remained preëminently the Antigone of the Greeks, the Romans, and all modern peoples. The heroine herself holds her exalted position in the world's literature through the famous tragedy of the masterful Sophocles, so that wherever in modern art or letters one comes across the faithful daughter of Oedipus, she is referred to or thought of as being in relations assigned her by this poet. So far as is known, Euripides alone among Greek writers ventured to compete with Sophocles¹ in dealing with this member of the house of Labdacus. His play was probably poorly received; he did not at any rate succeed in dislodging the Sophoclean heroine from the hearts of the Greeks.

Now it is a strange fact that, notwithstanding the great popularity of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, no Sophoclean Antigone exists in extant Greek art, so far as the monuments are known.² The Antigone groups on the "Megarian bowls" are well known to have been taken directly from the *Phoenissae* of

¹ That the *Antigone* of Sophocles was brought out before the *Antigone* of Euripides is a safe inference from Soph. *Ant.* 563 as compared with Eur. *Ant.* Fr. 166. See below, p. 187, note.

² This subject is discussed in the writer's *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase Paintings*, pp. 75 ff.

Euripides ;¹ these little monuments are, however, from the middle of the third century B.C. It is doubtful whether the picture mentioned by Philostratus² was more than an *imago* — a picture existing only in the fancy of the writer. Earlier than the “bowls” are the vase-paintings from Lower Italy, on which Antigone is represented in a tragedy of somewhat more than passing interest. Since we know for a certainty that Euripides wielded an influence far greater than that of any other poet over the artists of the two or three centuries following his time, we are tempted to inquire into the nature of his *Antigone* and to test that with these vases from Magna Graecia; the frequency with which Euripidean situations appear on the several classes of monuments found on Greek and Latin soil is nothing short of extraordinary, and without allowing this fact to warp our judgment in the consideration of the Antigone vase-paintings, we cannot but hold in mind the unique position occupied by Euripides during the period to which these vases belong.

In the following pages I shall attempt to show that the vase-paintings in question are not only based upon the *Antigone* of Euripides, as contrasted with a post-Euripidean poet, but that they also furnish the most considerable and valuable data for obtaining a notion of the nature of this play itself. Before examining these monuments it will be well to review all the obtainable literary evidence touching the Euripidean *Antigone*.

The words of Aristophanes, the grammarian, in the argument to Soph. *Ant.* run thus: *κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιία καὶ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἀντιγόῃ· πλὴν ἐκεί φωραθείσα μετὰ τοῦ Αἷμονος δίδοται πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν καὶ τέκνον τίττει τὸν Μαίονα*,³ and the Scholiast

¹ Brit. Mus., Vase Cat. vol. IV, G. 104; pub. *ibid.*, pl. 16, and in *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase Paintings*, p. 174; cf. latter work, pp. 171 ff. and *Class. Rev.* 1894, p. 325. The fragment which is best known, having been discovered earliest, is also in the Brit. Mus., Cat. vol. IV, G. 105₁; published in *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, pl. 9, 13; Robert, *Homerische Becher*, p. 59; the author's work quoted above, p. 177. Cf. Murray in *Class. Rev.* 1888, p. 328.

² *Imagines*, II, 29.

³ Nauck's emendation for the manuscript reading *Μαίμονα*.

on Soph. *Ant.* v. 135 adds: ὅτι διαφέρει τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἀντιγόνης αὕτη ὅτι φωραθεῖσα ἐκείνη διὰ τὸν Αἴμονος ἔρωτα πρὸς γάμον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοῦναντίον. It is clear that the scholiast followed Aristophanes closely, for he has all but taken the exact words of the latter. Since, therefore, we possess not two independent authorities, but one, we may undertake a closer examination of the grammarian's remark. It begins with the oft-recurring expression *κεῖται κ.τ.λ.*; ¹ then the point is made that the story was treated differently by Euripides and Sophocles, and some of these features are mentioned: in the first place, Euripides allows Haemon to be with Antigone at the burial of Polynices; secondly, the two are married; and lastly, they have a son whose name is Maeon. Surely this is a violent alteration of the Sophoclean *dénouement*, where the heroine is unattended at the burial and where Haemon and she die a miserable death ununited in marriage. If Aristophanes has given here the main points of difference between the two plays, — that is, their action, — we are to believe that where Sophocles ends the tragedy with the death of the lovers, Euripides solves all the trouble by their marriage. Is it, however, probable that Euripides would have merely followed Sophocles to the *finale* and then at this point have added the marriage as the close of the tragedy? Would the captive transgressors have been thus introduced, reconciled to the king, and received into the royal palace? This were indeed a loud farce, worse than comedy, and could have been tolerated in no Greek theatre. No intervention of a *deus ex machina* could have rendered such an outcome endurable. This has been in the past, nevertheless, the prevalent interpretation of Euripides' *Antigone*, and even scholars of the present day blindly follow Aristophanes and credit Euripides with the authorship of such a comico-tragical play. The fact emphasized by the grammarian and the scholiast is the marriage of Haemon and Antigone, but it will be seen on examination of the fragments below that

¹ Cf. the arguments to Eur. *Bacch.*, Soph. *Philoc.*, Aesch. *Prom.* and *Eumen.*, all of which are ascribed to Aristophanes.

the play itself could not have been made up of events such as Aristophanes names. The mere mention of Maeon suggests a situation that Aristophanes leaves undiscussed. The whole question resolves itself into the following: if the plays of Sophocles and Euripides differed from each other in the *finale* alone, the former allowing the lovers to die, the latter celebrating their marriage, Aristophanes was not at liberty to go further and name the offspring of this union as *another distinction between the two plays*; and, secondly, if the son Maeon was a part of the action in the play, the lovers must have been married years before, and this fact would prove that Aristophanes' lines are concerned with events that preceded the play.¹ The latter will be seen to be the natural conclusion; the grammarian has simply turned aside here to remark on incidents that Euripides recognized in his work, though not as any part of the action. It is more than probable that the words of Aristophanes referred to the story in the prologue, by which device Euripides nearly always prepared his hearers for the forms of the myths he was to follow. However this may be, it must not be urged that Aristophanes has given the key to Euripides' *Antigone*; possibly he has not furnished even a clew as to the centre of interest in the tragedy. One has to look elsewhere for the nature of the work.²

Let us now examine the few fragments of the *Antigone* that have reached us. The following have been collected by Nauck³ and are here given with his numbering and in his order:

- 157. ἦν Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ.
- 158. εἴτ' ἐγένετ' αὖθις ἀθλιώτατος βροτῶν.
- 159. χρυσεόνωτον ἀσπίδα τὰν Καπανέως.
- 160. νέοι νέοισι συννοσοῦσι τὰφανῇ.

¹ Klügmann in *Annali dell' Inst.* 1876, p. 180, had reached the same conclusion: *Le parole de Aristofane si riferiscono alla generazione di un figlio e non alla solennità del matrimonio.*

² Cf. Ribbeck, *Römische Tragödie*, p. 486, note 4, where my position is anticipated.

³ *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2d ed., pp. 405 ff.

161. ἥρων · τὸ μαίνεσθαι δ' ἄρ' ἦν ἔρωσ βροτοῖς.
162. ἀνδρὸς δ' ὀρώντος εἰς Κύπριν νεανίου
ἀφύλακτος ἢ τήρησις, ὡς καὶ φαῦλος ἦ
τᾷλλ', εἰς ἔρωτα πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτερος ·
ἦν δ' ἂν προσῆται Κύπρις, ἡδιστον λαβεῖν.
163. ἀνδρὸς φίλου δὲ χρυσὸς ἀμαθίας μέτα
ἄχρηστος, εἰ μὴ κἀρετὴν ἔχων τύχοι.
164. ἄριστον ἀνδρὶ κτῆμα συμπαθῆς γυνή.
165. ἄκουσον · οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακῶς πεπραγότες
σὺν ταῖς τύχαισι τοὺς λόγους ἀπώλεσαν.
166. τὸ μῶρον αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς νόσημ' ἔνι ·
φιλεῖ γὰρ οὕτως ἐκ κακῶν εἶναι κακοῦς.¹
167. ἡ γὰρ δόκησις πατράσι παῖδας εἰκέναι
τὰ πολλὰ ταύτῃ γίγνεται τέκνα πέρι.
168. ὀνόματι μεμπτὸν τὸ νόθον, ἡ φύσις δ' ἴση.
169. . . ἐπ' ἄκραν ἤκομεν γραμμὴν κακῶν.
170. οὐκ ἔστι Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος,
καὶ βωμὸς αὐτῆς ἔστ' ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει.
171. δεῖ τοῖσι πολλοῖς τὸν τύραννον ἀνδάνειν.
172. οὐτ' εἰκὸς ἄρχειν οὔτε χρῆν' ἀνευ νόμου
τύραννον εἶναι · μωρία δὲ καὶ θέλειν
ὅς τῶν ὁμοίων βούλεται κρατεῖν μόνος.
173. οἰκείος ἀνθρώποισι γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ
πόλεμος ἐν ἀστοῖς, ἣν διχοστατῇ πόλις.
174. [μὴ οὖν ἔθελε λυπεῖν σαυτὸν ἐξειδὼς ὅτι
πολλάκι τὸ λυποῦν ὕστερον χαρὰν ἄγει
καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἀγαθοῦ γίγνεται παραίτιον.]
175. ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τὸ πῖπτον εὐλόφως φέρει,
τὸν δαίμον' οὗτος ἡσσόν ἐστιν ἄθλιος.

¹ Probably in this fragment, as Schneidewin has suggested, Euripides is deliberately criticising the view of Sophocles as expressed in the *Ant.* 563 f., οὐδ' ὅς ἂν βλάβστη μένει | νοῦς τοῖς κακῶς πράσσουσιν ἄλλ' ἐξίσταται.

176. θάνατος γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νεικέων τέλος
 ἔχει · μαθεῖν δὲ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εὐμαρές.
 τίς γὰρ πετραῖον σκόπελον οὐτάζων δορὶ
 ὀδύναισι δώσει; τίς δ' ἀτιμάζων νέκυς,
 εἰ μὴδὲν αἰσθάνονται τῶν παθημάτων;
177. ὦ παῖ Διώνης, ὡς ἔφυς μέγας θεός,
 Διόνυσσε, θνητοῖς τ' οὐδαμῶς ὑποστατός.
178. *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* v. 1031: τὴν Σφίγγα ὁ Διόνυσος ἔπεμψε τοῖς Θηβαίοις, is given by Nauck as probably taken from the *Antigone*. *Schol. Eur. Phoen.* 934, ἀλλαχού δὲ φησὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Διονύσου πεπονθέναι τὴν πόλιν has also been referred to the same source.

Besides these fragments, nos. 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, and 853 (Nauck) are held by Wecklein to be parts of the *Antigone*,¹ but the reading in all cases, except in nos. 213 and 215, seems sound, and we are in the domain of pure conjecture in assigning them to this play; in the two instances the double reading *Antigone* and *Antiope* renders the source questionable. The sentiments expressed in the latter fragments, however, as well as in many of those quoted above (nos. 157–178), are of a general nature and might occur in any Greek tragedy without in the least determining the character of the whole. The point in a large number of fragments is commonly mere sentiment, and to build theories of reconstruction on such is vain.

A casual reading of these fragments reveals the fact that a large proportion of them is concerned with love and marriage (cf. nos. 161, 162, 164), while another set (cf. nos. 160, 166, 167, 168) furnishes the hint that we have to do not only with lovers but with lovers clandestinely married, and, so long since, that they have a son. As to the *dramatis personae* and their respective parts, little need be said; opinions will vary concerning the appropriateness of this or that expression as placed in the mouth of Haemon, Antigone, or Creon. Cer-

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischer Akad. philos.-philol. Cl.* 1878, vol. 2, pp. 186 ff.

tainty is not attainable in the case of all, but no. 166 is almost without doubt the words of the king, who addresses the chorus, and emphasizes the foolhardy stiff-neckedness of Haemon that manifests itself in the son Maeon—*τὸ μῶρον αὐτῷ¹ τοῦ πατρὸς νόσημ' ἔνι*. This expression prepares us for that which follows, and points directly to the last words of Aristophanes' statement. The most important line of all is no. 168; it is, in a way, the key to the whole situation, for at this point the king makes the discovery that his son has wedded the transgressor of the royal edict, and, quite unknown to his father, has begotten a son; the latter is forthwith identified by the enraged Creon, who gives vent to his displeasure through the expression *νόθος*. We are, therefore, on decidedly different ground from that in any other version of the story. The pronounced religious and ethical tenor of Sophocles has been abandoned, and the everyday, matter-of-fact Euripides has dealt somewhat severely with the ideal heroine of the earlier master. Euripides has cast everything to serve better his delineation of *πάθος*,—the centre of interest with him is no longer the burial of Polynices and its religious significance; he has hit upon another time where the passion of a day could play—where features of daily life might be represented—where he might show 'men as they are.'

One other point in the fragments demands careful consideration, viz. *ὁ παῖ Διώνης κ.τ.λ.* of no. 177. These verses are not in themselves important, but the great mass of criticism for the reconstruction of the play has centred about this fragment. Boeckh² was the first to construe the reading as meaning Dionysus, and referring to the god's appearance as *deus ex machina*. This view has been widely shared by subsequent

¹ The arbitrary alteration of *αὐτῷ* to *αὐτῇ* (i.e. 'Ἀντιγόνη) suggested by Süvern, *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akad.* 1824, p. 32, has been accepted by all who deny Maeon a place in the play. Süvern derived his notion of the play from Aristophanes, and with the fixed idea that it was simply the *Antigone* of Sophocles with a happy ending, he, of course, refused offspring a place in the story.

² *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akad.* 1824, p. 84.

scholars.¹ It is maintained that Euripides particularly needed a mediator in bringing about a successful issue of the dilemma in which the lovers were placed, and our poet is well known to have had recourse to such an invention in other plays; in the *Antigone*, therefore, which was for Boeckh little more than a *Liebeleï*, Dionysus was held to be the *deus ex machina*, and no. 177 was pointed to in support of the theory. Welcker, although taking a very different notion of the play from his predecessors, could not rid himself of Dionysus in this rôle; this is the more remarkable since Welcker had to make room for Dionysus in addition to Heracles. Clearly nothing in these verses requires us to believe that Dionysus actually appeared in the play; some one addresses this god, but more cannot be obtained from the lines, and there is absolutely no ground for the conclusion that Dionysus played the part of *deus ex machina*. Without some weightier argument this demand cannot be considered reasonable; and we may seek another solution of the problem.²

We may now leave the unsatisfactory record of the fragments for what seems further direct evidence for the tragedy. Hyginus, *Fabula* 72, gives the following story: "*Creon Menoecei filius edixit ne quis Polynicem aut qui una venerunt sepulturae traderet, quod patriam oppugnatum venerint. Antigona soror et Argia conjunx clam noctu Polynicis corpus sublatum in eadem pyra qua Eteocles sepultus est imposuerunt. quae cum a custodibus deprehensae essent, Argia profugit, Antigona ad regem producta. ille eam Haemoni, cujus sponsa fuerat, dedit interficiendam. Haemon amore captus patris imperium neglexit et Antigona ad pastores demandavit ementitusque est se eam interfecisse. QVAE CVM FILIAM PROCREASSET ET IS AD PVBEREM AETATEM VENISSET, THEBAS AD LVDOS VENIT. HVNC CREON REX, quod*

¹ Cf. Stüvern, *loc. cit.*; Welcker, *Griech. Trag.* II, pp. 563 ff.; Heydemann, *Über eine nacheuripideische Tragödie*; Wecklein, *loc. cit.*

² Max Mayer, *De Euripidis mythopoeia*, p. 75, would refer these verses to the *Antiope*, and thus cut the Gordian knot; *ἐν Ἀντιγόρῃ* and *ἐν Ἀντιόπῃ* are somewhat easily confused (cf. nos. 166, 214, 216), but it is not necessary to go to such length, for *ὦ παῖ Διῶνῃς* need not disturb us, as we shall see later.

ex draconteo genere omnes in corpore insigne habebant, AGNOVIT. CVM HERCVLES PRO HAEMONE DEPRECARETVR VT EI IGNO-SCERET, NON IMPETRAVIT. Haemon se et Antigonom conjugem interfecit. at Creon Megaram filiam suam Herculi dedit in conjugium: ex qua nati sunt Therimachus et Diopithes."

Welcker based his theory of the *Antigone* on this *fabula*. Indeed Hyginus has long passed as the best authority on many of the lost tragedies of Greece and Rome; but of late years the work of Hyginus and his tribe has been more carefully analyzed, and much that passed for serious groundwork of tragedies has been proved to be the work of busy *mythographi*. In the *fabula* quoted above, there is much that indicates a series of accretions. Argia (in connection with the house of Oedipus) is mentioned first by late writers, as Apollodorus, Diodorus, and the scholiasts.¹ The occurrence of her name seems to stamp this story as being an elaboration, and yet Welcker was so enthralled by the authority of Hyginus that he called Argia *die Erfindung eines Tragikers*.² Then again, at the last, *at Creon Megaram, etc.*, is, it appears to me, a bit of learning intended to display proper names and family pedigrees. The intimate relation between Heracles and Creon in the main part of the story was not lacking in suggestiveness, and a writer of school-books easily grasped the point of adding the family history of Heracles and Megara. I am convinced that neither Argia nor Megara had anything to do with the myth in its earlier form. The part in small capitals comprises what I am inclined to call the gist of the whole matter. The story centres very plainly about the *son*, and in this regard it is in harmony with the fragments. Haemon and Antigone are thought of as being present; Heracles, as *deus ex machina*, appears with Creon. This places us one step further ahead in the play than it was possible to reach in a study of the fragments, between which and Hyginus there is a rather close agreement. It may be noted that Heracles is a fit intercessor, for Thebes could always share with Argos the glory of being

¹ Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. Argia, 4.

² *Op. cit.* II, p. 569.

his home ; though Heracles became the hero of the Dorians, the Thebans never forgot that he was born in Thebes,¹ and in this city, even as late as in the time of Pausanias, the foundations of the house where he was born were pointed out, as were also the graves of his children ; then, too, here was a Heracleum, of which the pediment groups, made by Praxiteles, illustrated the twelve labors of Heracles. Not only was there an intimate sympathy between Thebes and Creon on the one hand, and Heracles on the other, such as would account for the latter's appearance in a Theban tragedy, but there was furthermore the special interest that Euripides felt in Heracles, for it was to this poet that the latter owed his introduction into tragedy ; one recalls the part Heracles plays in the *Alcestis* ; and again there is a fresh interest which his earthly career assumes for us in the *Heracidae*. But Euripides placed the hero forever outside the burlesque in tragedy when he delivered the final chapter of his life in the *Heracles*. No one who knows Euripides will fail to note his preference for Heracles over other heroes. His appearance in the *Antigone* is, therefore, a characteristic stroke.²

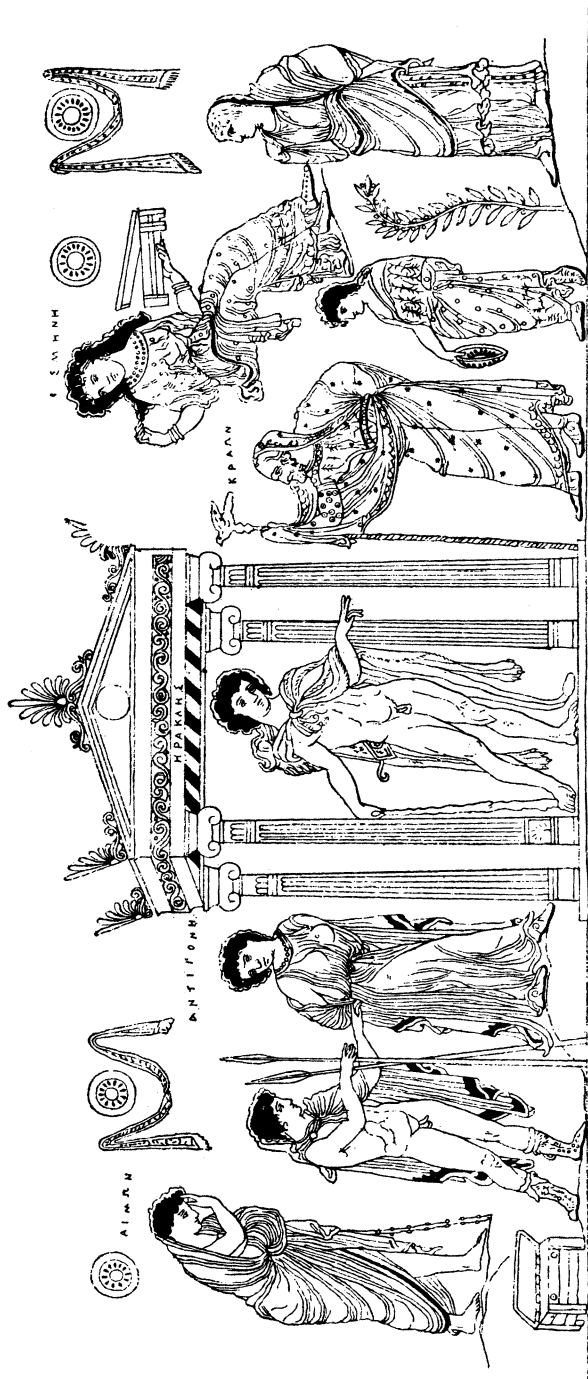
At this point we turn to the vases mentioned above as being evidence for Antigone in tragedy. The monuments tell their story distinctly and without interpolation.

The first vase is an Apulian amphora in the Museo-Jatta.³ The scene (Fig. 1) represents a building on four Ionic columns, dividing the picture into two parts ; inside this stands Heracles (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ) *en face*, with his weight on his left leg ; he wears the lion skin as a chlamys over the shoulders, and rests his

¹ Cf. *II. T* 99, and *Paus. IX*, 11.

² Cf. Wilanowitz von Moellendorff, *Euripides Herakles*, 1st ed., I, p. 269 ff., 329 f., 374 ff.

³ No. 423, published by Heydemann, *Über eine nacheuripideische Tragödie*, Berlin, 1869, and in *Arch. Ztg.* 1870, pl. 40, 2 ; *Mon. d. Inst.* X, pls. 26, 27 ; Rayet and Collignon, *Histoire de la ceramique grecque*, pl. 12 ; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, I, no. 88 ; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, pl. 9, 14. Discussed by Heydemann, *op. cit.* ; Klügmann, *Annali d. Inst.* 1876, pp. 174 ff. ; Vogel, *Scenen euripideischer Trag. in griech. Vasengemälden*, pp. 50 ff. ; Rayet and Collignon, *op. cit.* pp. 308 f.

FIGURE 1. — THE ANTIGONE OF EURIPIDES (*Apulian Amphora in the Museo-Jatta*).

right hand upon his club, while he points to the left with his other hand; his face is slightly turned towards Creon (ΚΡΑΩΝ),¹ who stands, stooping, his right hand on his sceptre and his left placed on his side, with his eyes fixed on Heracles. The king is bearded and wears boots and a richly embroidered, theatrical dress, quite in the manner of a stage figure; the whole carriage and pose speak of the theatre.² Behind, in a similar garb, is a youth with a metal cylix in the right hand. Still to the right, on a higher *terrain*, stands an elderly female figure, also facing the central scene; she wears a long chiton with over-garment, and a corner is drawn up over the back of the head; this is held by the right hand, while she watches sympathetically the events before her. The left hand of all three figures is disposed of in one and the same manner, *i.e.* placed on the back over the hips. On a *terrain* above the boy, Ismene (ΙΞΜΗΝΗ) sits to the right, but turns her face down towards the middle scene. She is dressed in long chiton, shoes, bracelets, double necklace, and holds an open box in her left hand and a corner of her shawl in the right. On the left of the house Antigone (ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ), with long chiton, mantle, shoes, and necklace, stands a little bowed, with her hands fastened behind her back. Her face is turned to the *doryphoros*, who stands at the left, and seems to have recently arrived with his prisoner. He wears a chlamys and high boots, and carries the usual spears. Behind, on a higher *terrain*, turned to the right, Haemon (ΑΙΜΩΝ) rests on his stick, quite wrapped up in a large himation. He leans his head upon his right hand. The attitude is plainly that of a mourner. Below his feet is an open box.

¹ No doubt an error of the artist for ΚΡΕΩΝ.

² Creon is strikingly like Nestor on an Apulian amphora in Berlin, no. 3289 in Furtwängler's catalogue; published in *Revue archéologique*, 1845, pl. 40. The position of the hands and feet tally precisely; there is the same theatrical costume, but somewhat more elegant on Creon, who also leans on a finer sceptre. The general style of the vases is the same, and the identity of these two figures, except for their names, can hardly be the result of accident. Both vases seem to belong to the same Apulian artist, or at least to the same studio.

It will be observed that Creon, Heracles, Antigone, and Haemon are denoted by inscriptions, and likewise Ismene, although her part seems to be a very indifferent one. Her position is that of the spectator that one is continually meeting on this class of vases. Who the boy and matron on the right are is left at present to conjecture.

The second vase (Fig. 2) is an Apulian amphora from Ceglie, now in Berlin.¹ Heydemann was the first to recognize this painting as being a variation of the scene on the Jatta vase. Creon sits to the left upon a richly cut *θρόνος*, and rests his left hand upon a sceptre behind the seat; his right hand holds a corner of his mantle; his dress is the long chiton with cross-bands and sleeves. Before him, separated however by a small tree, Heracles, with lion skin and club, stands in much the same position as in Fig. 1. A youth in long himation stands, *en face*, behind Heracles, but with eyes directed towards the king. Following is Antigone, who is conducted hither by a *doryphoros*; the latter holds the end of the rope that pinions her arms behind her. Antigone wears the plain chiton and a veil, and the *doryphoros* is clad—as he usually is on Lower Italy vases—with a chlamys over the shoulders; he carries two spears and a sword. Behind Creon is another *doryphoros* with a wreath, spears, and a sword; a tree separates him from Haemon, who, *en face*, nude except for the chlamys, leans on a staff under the left arm, and drops his head pitifully to one side, placing his right hand upon it. On the wall hang a shield, pilos, petasos, sword, and pair of greaves.

There can be little question that the same literary source is the basis of both these paintings. The artists exercised their freedom in arranging the figures; but who would take serious issue with the painter for placing Haemon on Creon's side in Fig. 2? Then there is the youth, whose identity is not yet determined, appearing in Fig. 1 on the king's side, and in

¹ Cat. no. 3240; published in Gerhard's *Apulische Vasenbilder*, pl. 11; *Arch. Ztg.* 1870, pl. 40, 1; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, pl. 9, 12. Cf. Heydemann, *op. cit.*, and Vogel, *op. cit.* p. 55.

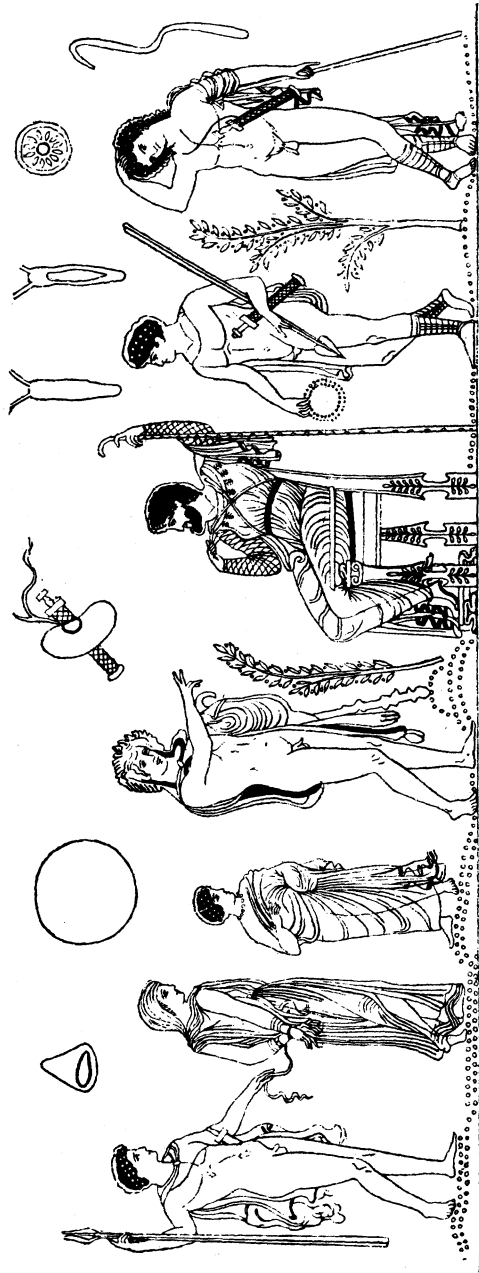


FIGURE 2.—THE ANTIGONE OF EURIPIDES (*Apulian Amphora in Berlin*).

Fig. 2 he is allied with Antigone. If he is Maeon, as some believe, there is good reason for his associating with his mother as in Fig. 2. In Fig. 1 we are a little surprised to see him as a sort of attendant to Creon. In spite of these minor variations, however, the main scene is practically the same in both, and it matters indeed very little whether secondary figures have been interposed or not. We have here, as it seems to me, the moment when Heracles appears before Creon to intercede for Antigone, who has been ordered before the enraged ruler.

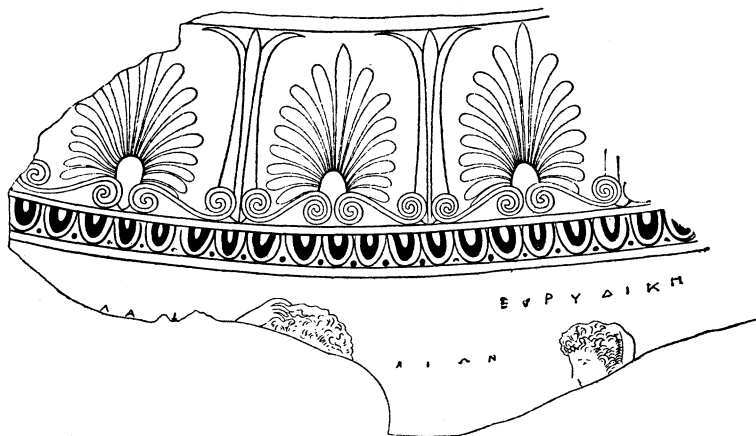


FIGURE 3. — THE ANTIGONE OF EURIPIDES.
(Fragment of Apulian Amphora in Karlsruhe.)

Where Haemon or Maeon belong is quite of minor importance; the vase-painters cannot be called to account as mere illustrators.

We have to discuss, finally, a fragment of an amphora (Fig. 3) of unknown provenience, but at all events Apulian in technique, now in Karlsruhe.¹ On the right is the head of a female figure with traces of a veil, ΕΡΡΥΔΙΚΗ, incised. One

¹ Winnefeld's *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung in Karlsruhe*, pp. 62 f. Published in *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, ser. E, pl. 6, 3; *Arch. Ztg.* 1884, pl. 19, b; *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, 1889, pl. 7; *Aus der Anomia*, p. 149; Harrison, *Monuments of Athens*, p. cxlviii. Cf. Hartwig in *Arch. Ztg.* 1884, p. 266; Fränkel, *ibid.* 1885, pp. 71 f., and Winckler in *Aus der Anomia*. pp. 149 ff.

may compare the head with that of the female on the right in Fig. 1. To the left is the top of another head, with a hand clutching the hair, in the manner of Haemon on Fig. 2. Between these two heads is the inscription ΑΙΩΝ, incised. This has been held by Hauser and Winckler to be a misreading for ΑΙ[Μ]ΩΝ, while it is affirmed by Hartwig, Fränkel, Schumacher, and Lückenbach that there is absolutely no trace of a letter Μ, and, since the letters are scratched in, there is no possibility of any letter having disappeared. The word has therefore been considered complete by these scholars, and has been taken as indicating a personification of Aeon, otherwise unheard of. This theory goes in common with the one that the fragment is to be considered, together with fragment *a* of *Arch. Ztg.* 1884, pl. 19, as a part of a large under-world vase. Winckler¹ has shown this view to be untenable. So far from belonging to the same side of one and the same vase, our fragment must be assigned to the *reverse* of an amphora. This leaves us free to interpret the fragment by itself. It seems very probable, indeed, that we have here a fragment of another Antigone scene as in Figs. 1 and 2. Inscriptional evidence is therefore at hand for naming the female in Fig. 1 Eurydice. As regards ΑΙΩΝ and its significance, it appears to me that we shall come near to the truth if we read Μ]ΑΙΩΝ, and refer the name to the boy standing before Eurydice, as in Fig. 1. Although no trace of the figure is left, the shorter stature of the boy could easily be placed at that distance below the name. As to the trustworthiness of an inscription because *incised*, it is hardly necessary to remark that nearly every lapidary inscription furnishes examples of the omission of letters even in the commonest words, where the same is simply due to the stone-cutter's indifference towards his work. And we are not any more bound to construe his heterogeneous forms and expressions as authentic and reliable Greek because they must of necessity be as originally written. But I shall confine myself to instances on vases of Lower Italy to prove that

¹ *Op. cit.*

such inscriptions may be quite as unreliable as the perishable, painted inscriptions. We must not look upon an inscription as absolutely correct because it is cut in the clay. As an example that is well known, I take the Altamura-Naples amphora,¹ on which *the inscriptions without exception are scratched in.*² A single glance at this vase is sufficient to convince one of the unintelligibility that may attach to this class of inscriptions. Scraps of names that defy interpretation are put down in apparent good faith by the artists. Will the scholars who hold fast to ΑΙΩΝ as intelligible and good Greek, because incised, also stand by ΝΑΝ for the figure just above Sisyphus? Have we here another personification? And wherefore the futile efforts to read ΜΑΝΙΑ or ΑΝΑΓΚΗ where this kind of inscription means reliability? The artist knew what he was about, and wrote what he needed, if one is to trust the forms distinctly readable. A second instance of this same thing is the inscription which stands above the Erinyes on the left from Orpheus, where ΟΙΝΑΙ was written for ΓΟΙΝΑΙ. One would expect at least the first letter of the name to be correctly written, but not even that seemed to trouble the consciences of these artists who attempted to write simple words. It will not answer to point to the regularity and correctness of *Eurydice* upon our fragment, and to argue that the other inscriptions on the same ought to be held as equally trustworthy. That sense and nonsense, correctness and incorrectness, may be found on one and the same vase is sufficiently borne out by the Altamura amphora. The person who was careful enough to write ΟΡΦΕΥΞ, ΜΕΓΑΡΑ, and ΑΙΑΚΟΞ, so plainly, showed the possible extreme of incoherent scribbling in naming the other figures. We are required, therefore, to interpret ΑΙΩΝ as though it were painted on. Is it intelligible? Every one admits the difficulties the word presents as it now stands, and I

¹ Cat. no. 3222², and *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, ser. E, pl. 2.

² This point was overlooked by Heydemann, but is stated by Studniczka in a special report to Winckler; vid. the latter's *Die Unterwelt-Darstellungen*, p. 20, note 2.

feel that the correct reading is M]AION, although there is no room for M; I do not believe the artist attempted to write it; the letter was left out precisely as was Π in Π]OINAI, cited above. The inscription on the left of Haemon is too fragmentary to be restored. The usual reading ΛAI[OΞ is scarcely worth considering. What could the ghost of Laius be doing before Creon and Antigone? Furthermore, as Schumacher asserts,¹ the letter read Ι stands too slanting for an *iota*. I do not attempt to rewrite the word, but am, nevertheless, convinced that the figure to which the name applied was that of AIMON.

My conclusion is that this fragment was part of a vase having an Antigone scene, similar to those in Figs. 1 and 2, and that we have here inscriptional evidence for Eurydice and Maeon.

Turning now to a comparison of the results obtained from the discussion (1) of the fragments of the *Antigone*; (2) of Hyginus *Fab.* 72; and (3) of the vase-paintings, we are impressed, in the first place, by the striking and close agreement between the two latter. The son of Haemon and Antigone has taken part in the games, and has been recognized by Creon as being of the blood of Cadmus, *hunc Creon . . . agnovit*. The king is enraged at this flagrant insult upon his house, and proceeds, in the spirit that characterizes him in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, to deal out a heartless sentence upon the transgressors. He orders Antigone to be brought before him. As would naturally be expected, Haemon appears likewise, and is represented in Fig. 1 in a striking attitude. Sentence has probably passed the lips of Creon, when Heracles appears as *deus ex machina* to plead for leniency; *Cum Heracles pro Haemone deprecaretur ut ei ignosceret*. This is the moment which the vases represent. Furthermore, as has been already shown, Fragments 166-168 are ample proof that in the lost tragedy of Euripides the *dénouement* was helped along by the presence of the son Maeon. This, therefore, affords us the necessary clew, and the details added by Hyginus and the vase-

¹ *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1889, p. 228.

painters enable us not only to base the vases on Euripides, but also in a greater degree to restore the outline of his *Antigone*.

Maeon's part in the play it is not possible to determine. He may have entered as a *mutus*, like Medea's children; a boy *ad puberem aetatis* could not have held a rôle in the theatre of the time of Euripides.

The marked unity of design in all the paintings, taken together with the literary evidence, seems to point conclusively to Euripidean influence in the former; and when one remembers the phenomenal place held by this poet in the period to which the vases belong,—how Euripides' popularity had made him more the people's poet than was any other of the Greeks,—it seems to me that such an *Antigone* as he wrote would have superseded all others in the estimation of the artists.

If my position be correct, Aristophanes is no authority for the *Antigone*, but only for events antecedent to the play.¹

J. H. HUDDILSTON.

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¹ Rayet and Collignon, *op. cit.* p. 304, hold the scene in Fig. 1 to be based on the *Antigone* of Euripides.